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## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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# Renaissance Dictionaries in the University of Texas Library

WILLIAM PEERY

THOUGH CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS has been made in recent years in the collection of early dictionaries, particularly by American libraries, there are still many unfortunate gaps in even the largest collections both in this country and abroad. The publication last spring of Professor DeWitt T. Starnes' *Renaissance Dictionaries: English-Latin and Latin-English* (Austin: University of Texas Press; London: Thomas Nelson and Sons) should accelerate this progress, in which the University of Texas Library has had its part, and also stimulate scholarly interest in the excellent collection of bilingual and other dictionaries which the Rare Book Collections now possesses. The present paper attempts in a very tentative way to describe the Texas holdings. It is hoped that a full bibliographical catalogue can soon be offered.

*Renaissance Dictionaries* results from and is a substantial monument to a fifteen-year period of study of English-Latin and Latin-English dictionaries by Professor Starnes, a leading authority on the history of English lexicography. With Gertrude E. Noyes he has already treated *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson, 1604-1755*. His present volume traces the development of English-Latin and Latin-English dictionaries from the *Promptorium parvulorum* (*A Storehouse for Young Scholars, ca. 1440*) to Robert Ainsworth's classical dictionary, *Thesaurus linguae Latinae compendarius* (*A Compendious Dictionary of the Latin Tongue, 1736*). These limits necessitate the author's studying in detail twenty-two dictionaries, of which most had a long succession of editions. He draws together his findings in a summary chapter which concludes by pointing out the debt of the English to the bilingual dictionaries. Of each of the latter Professor Starnes gives a fairly complete history: its sources, its influences, its editions and their re-

visions and enlargements, and its arrangement and other technical features.

Such a study requires access, of course, to many collections. Although Professor Starnes makes use of relevant holdings of the British Museum and the Bodleian, Cambridge University, Folger Shakespeare, Huntington, and Newberry libraries, he draws extensively on the University of Texas holdings, which have been acquired largely during his study and under his guidance. Their usefulness to his book is perhaps suggested by the fact that of its seventeen illustrations—as perfect reproductions of pages from Renaissance books as one is likely to see—two are from copies of Renaissance dictionaries in the Folger Shakespeare Library, five from copies in the British Museum, and ten from copies in the University of Texas Rare Book Collections.

If we may rely upon numbers, the strength of the Texas collection of Renaissance dictionaries may be seen in figures compiled from the "Short-title list of Latin-English and English-Latin dictionaries (1500—ca. 1800) in American libraries," which Professor Starnes assembled with assistance from Miss Julia Harris, reference librarian of the University of Texas Library, and which is part of the bibliography of *Renaissance Dictionaries* (pp. 394–99).

Of the 129 editions of the 25 dictionaries listed and 22 studied by Professor Starnes in his latest book, the 35 American libraries reporting contain 400 copies of 103 editions. Twenty-eight copies of 27 of these editions are in the University of Texas Library, the last being the 1552 *Bibliotheca Eliotae* reported in these pages in the previous issue (p. 36). Two more, the 1587 edition of Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannica* and the 1675 edition of Christopher Wase's *Dictionarium minus*, respectively—the former the only copy listed—are located at the University of Texas in the private libraries of Professor Rudolph Willard and Professor Starnes. Professor Starnes' collection contains a number of other fine dictionaries, notably the Paris, 1510, Venice, 1542, and Geneva, 1609 editions of Calepine. These will become the property of the University of Texas Library.

The relative numerical strength of the University of Texas Library collection is indicated by the following tabulation of holdings reported of the 103 editions listed as in American libraries:



1. Folger Shakespeare Library .....	40	7. Boston Public Library....	20
2. University of Illinois....	39	8. University of Michigan..	18
3. Harvard University.....	33	9. Library of Congress.....	16
4. Yale University.....	33	10. University of Chicago....	15
5. UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS..	28	11. New York Public Library .....	15
6. Huntington Library.....	25	12. Newberry Library.....	13

Several of the Texas dictionaries have some rarity. Two are listed as available at only two other American libraries. The 1606 edition of Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* is reported also by the Folger Shakespeare and the University of Michigan libraries. The 1669 edition of Francis Gouldman's *A Copious Dictionary in Three Parts* is reported also by the libraries at Yale University and the University of Illinois. Four are reported by only one other library. The University of Illinois reports the 1589 edition of Thomas; the Folger Library, the 1615 edition of Simon Pelegromius' *Synonymorum sylva*; the Cornell University Library, the 1727 edition of Elisha Coles's *A Dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English*; and the Boston Public Library, the 1746 edition of Robert Ainsworth's *Thesaurus*. Two of the Texas dictionaries are not reported by any other library in America: the 1631 edition of Thomas and the 1639 edition of *Rider's Dictionarie* revised by Francis Holyoke—though this copy contains only the *Etymologicall Dictionarie* by Holyoke which was his supplement to Rider. Not at Texas is the 1606 edition of Holyoke's addition, which, "deriving every word from his native Fountaine," claims that no dictionary was "yet extant in that kind before" (quoted in Starnes, p. 245). Unique, also, according to Professor Starnes' short-title list, is the 1674 edition of Gouldman with the variant imprint concluding "Printed by John Hayes, Printer to the University, 1674" (Starnes, p. 281). Not a unique American copy but the result of a typographical error on a legend in Professor Starnes' book is the "1742" edition of Ainsworth's *Thesaurus* from which the royal privilege of George II is reproduced (p. 326). This should be "1746."

The Texas collection of dictionaries, moreover, is not limited to the twenty-two bilingual dictionaries studied in detail by Professor Starnes or the twenty-five in his short-title list. In date they range from a Strasbourg edition, ca. 1482, of the *Catholicon* or *Summa* of

Johannes Balbus Januensis, a folio of 784 unnumbered two-column pages in Gothic type, to the 1761 edition of Ainsworth. A dictionary of the encyclopedic type, the *Catholicon* was widely used by fifteenth-century writers as a convenient storehouse of information on varied subjects. It was one of the sources of another early dictionary in the Texas collection, the 1514 edition of the *Gemma vocabulorum*, an extensively used early Latin-German dictionary. The collection contains, also, a Latin edition by Rudolphus Gualtherus, Basel, 1542, of Julius Pollux' celebrated *Onomasticon*, ca. A.D. 177. This edition seems not to have been known to authorities on Pollux; and, as Professor Starnes points out, it was this Latin version of the Greek *Onomasticon* that influenced John Withals' *Shorte Dictionarie for Yonge Begynners*, 1553. Of the *Dictionarium* of Ambrosius Calepinus—which influenced almost every important Renaissance dictionary—Texas has the Venice editions of 1509 and 1564, the former an unusually fine copy. Another title which should be added to the Texas total is the 1693 Cambridge publication, *A New Dictionary, in Five Alphabets*, which Professor Starnes shows is derived in its English-Latin part from Adam Littleton's *Latine Dictionary, in Four Parts*, 1678. Of the latter, two copies are at Texas, one in the Rare Book Collections and one in the library of Professor Starnes. Add to those mentioned the Texas holdings of Cotgrave, Florio, and the Stephanus brothers and the collection will be seen to be among the very finest anywhere.

There is an abundance of material in the University of Texas Library dictionary collection to interest students—students of English lexicography, of the influences of French, German, and Latin on English Renaissance vocabulary, and of Renaissance history and literature. It would be easy enough to entertain the reader by filling these pages with anecdotes from and about the books, with what to-day seem their quaint definitions, or their examples of what linguists call "folk etymologies"—such as that of *Gargoyle* in John Baret's *Alvearie*, 1573: ornaments so termed (cf. *gargle*) "because ye water floweth out by their mouthes"—but I will resist that temptation. Though I am not at all a student of the Texas collection, having only browsed in it, I would like to make about these dictionaries half a dozen observations which should interest the reader who is not a scholar but only an intelligent curious adult.

R I D E R S  
**DICTIONARIE,**  
CORRECTED AND AUG-  
MENTED WITH THE ADDITION OF  
many hundred Words both out of the Law, and out of the

*Latine, French, and other languages, such as were and are  
with us in common use, but never printed till now,  
to the perfecting of the worke.*

**THE BARBAROUS WORDS WHICH WERE**  
many hundreds are expunged, to the helpe of young  
*Scholars, which before they used in stead of good Words.*

In the end of the Dictionarie you shall finde certaine gene-  
rall heads of Birds, Colours, Dogs, Fishes, Hawkes, Hearbs,  
Numbers, Stones, Trees, Weights,

Lastly, the names of the chiefe places and Townes in England,  
Scotland, and Ireland, &c. which were never in R I D E R S before.

*Also hereunto is annexed certaine Tables of Weights and Measures, the va-  
luation of auncient and moderne Coines; as also a table of the Hebrew, Greek,  
and Latine Measures, reduced to our English Standard and Assise: and  
the weights used in Physick, none of which were ever in  
R I D E R S worke.*

Whereunto is joyned a Dictionarie Etymolo-  
gicall, deriving each word from his proper fountaine, the first that ever  
was extant in this kind, with many worthy Castigations and Additions, in  
*this last Edition, as will appeare in the Title and  
Epistle before it.*

Now newly corrected and much augmented by  
FRANCIS HOLY-OKE.



LONDON,  
Imprinted by Felix Kingston. 1649.

Consider, in the first place, the modernity of the early lexicographers' practical appeals to learning. A world like ours that makes best-sellers out of self-help books as well as glamorized historical romances is not doing so new a thing as some think. On the title-page of *Ortus vocabulorum* (*The Garden of Words*), 1500—not in the Texas collection—purchasers are promised that "with these words they may furnish the mind, adorn their speech, and finally, if the fates permit, grow into very learned men." "It pays," the *Reader's Digest* tells us every month, "to increase your word power." The *Ortus vocabulorum* is described as "A work useful and profitable to all desirous of a knowledge of arts and sciences; and on account of the exposition of English speech, especially necessary to the realm of England. Hurry, therefore, all Englishmen, and spare not your small coins. Buy this book while you can get it good cheap" (paraphrased by Starnes, p. 31). Publishers today use no more direct lure or modern come-on than this. The self-improvement motive is repeatedly appealed to. Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae*, of which Texas has two copies of the first edition (1565), should be bought because "by the helpe of this booke" the "studious yong man . . . may gather to himselfe good furniture both of wordes and approoued phrases and fashions of speaking for any thing, that he shall eyther write or speake of." Christopher Wase explained the small size of his *Dictionarium minus* (1662, 1675), of which Professor Starnes' personal collection contains the second edition, thus: "This, I hope, will neither over-lighten the Fathers Purse, nor over-load the Childs Sachel" (Starnes, p. 276).

Generally interesting, too, is the fact—which Professor Starnes' detailed and comprehensive source studies establish but which the user of the collection may readily verify for himself—that like makers of modern drug-counter and better dictionaries, many Renaissance lexicographers borrowed or stole the works of their predecessors—a plagiarism which got them into less trouble than the equivalent practice might today. Though for prestige a lexicographer may state that he has drawn his entries from the best classical authors, there is much evidence in these dictionaries that the more usual practice was to copy one's quotations of classical authors out of an earlier dictionary. As a result, we find a complexity of interrelation-

ships between dictionaries which calls for ingenious and laborious literary detective work. Consider this tangle as unraveled by Professor Starnes:

If we remember that Thomas was based on Cooper and Morelius, and Cooper on Elyot and Robert Stephanus and Frisius, and also that Rider supplemented the matter from Thomas by Pelegromius' *Synonymorum sylva*, Gualtherus' Latin edition of Julius Pollux' *Onomasticon*, the Huloet-Higgins, Baret, and Junius, we may agree that Rider's dictionary is an epitome of the "learned works of all the learnedst and best Dictionaries in England." (p. 232)

Another aspect of lexicographic history of interest today that may be studied in these dictionaries is the effect on dictionary-making of economic competition. The battle is still going on, of course, notably between the *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, the *American College Dictionary*, and *Webster's New World Dictionary*. Thus Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium*, in 1587 a Latin-English dictionary alone, having to meet the competition of the Rider-Holyoke dictionaries (which it will be recalled contained also an English-Latin supplement) in its 1615 edition added a "noua Anglo-latino Dictionarie." The Thomas dictionary, incidentally—of which Texas has the 1589, 1596, and 1606 editions and Professor Starnes the 1631 edition—perhaps more than any other helped to establish as standard the alphabetical rather than the topical or etymological arrangement of words—a great boon to us all. Tired of the virtual monopoly in college dictionaries once enjoyed by the *Collegiate*, those responsible for the *American College Dictionary* determined to overthrow the *Collegiate* by bringing out a dictionary that would be thoroughly "modern." A major "improvement" was the distribution of proper names—which the *Collegiate*, like such Renaissance dictionaries as that of Thomas (1589), lists in an appendix—in the single alphabet of the body of the work. The student of lexicographical history, however, was not impressed by the modernity of this change. Proper names were distributed alphabetically throughout the *Catholicon* (ca. 1482), the *Calepine Dictionarium* (1564), and other early dictionaries. Indeed, the debate over where such things as proper names belong in a dictionary, in our time waged between the representatives of the publishers of the *Collegiate* and

the *ACD*, is discussed in the *Bibliotheca Eliotae*, of which Texas has the 1552 edition. "I had purposed good reader," the compiler, Thomas Cooper, writes, "cleane taking out the proper names, to have set them more perfectly corrected in a booke by them selfe." This he did, in the manner of the *Collegiate*, but only as far as part way through the letter *A*. When they called in as consultants several hundred specialists in various fields of learning so as to bring their dictionary into conformity with actual usage in science, industry, and the professions, the makers of the *ACD* had little on Cooper, who four centuries earlier in his *Bibliotheca* had proposed doing essentially that.

A fourth interesting matter for investigation for which these dictionaries provide evidence is the history of English spelling and of efforts to improve it. Especially significant here are the preambles to several letters of the alphabet in John Baret's *Alvearie*, of which Texas has both the 1573 and the 1580 editions. On the letter *K* Baret writes:

Some sluggish head perchau[n]ce . . . will say I am to curious about orthographie: and what nede I beat my braine about so fruteles & trifeling a matter? Other some y' wallowe in welth, and being in some fat office of writing haue filled their barnes and bagges with old Cacographie, say all is well ynough, and that it is impossible to amend it, & but folly to go about to make it any better.

It is indeed unfortunate that Baret's efforts to help "the poore young infant which learneth to spell" were unsuccessful and that the "other some" seem to have been right about the impossibility of a thoroughgoing reform of spelling.

Every Renaissance dictionary in this collection attests an important characteristic of the English Renaissance, helpful in studying such a play of Shakespeare's as *Love's Labor's Lost*. I refer to the Elizabethan fascination with language, no doubt inspired in part by the New Learning. The Renaissance dictionary is a *Garden of Words*, and "not unworthily"; "for just as in gardens are found abundance of flowers, of herbs, and of fruits with which our bodies are strengthened and our spirits refreshed, so in this work are diverse words accommodated to beginners desirous of the pleasures of learning" (paraphrased in Starnes, p. 31). The Elizabethan ideal of



copiousness in word choice, pleasantly ridiculed in *Love's Labor's Lost* (IV, 2) and emphasized in John Florio's *Worlde of Wordes*, is illustrated throughout Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus*, in his revisions of the *Bibliotheca Eliotae*, and in Thomas's *Dictionarium*.

Finally, these books are a monument to the devotion to their task of a number of dedicated lexicographers. Consider Aubrey's story of Cooper and his shrewish wife, who became

irreconcilably angry with him for sitting-up late at night compiling his *Dictionarie*. When he had halfe-donne it, she had the opportunitie to gett into his studie, tooke all his paines out in her lap, and threw it into the fire, and burnt it. Well, for all that, the good man had so great a zeale for the advancement of learning, that he began it again, and went through with it to that Perfection that he hath left it to us a most useful Worke (*Brief Lives*, ed. Dick, p. 71).

Of Cooper's *Thesaurus* Texas has the 1565 and 1584 editions. And a similar devotion is shown by Dr. Philemon Holland, who added a *Supplementum* to the 1615 edition of Thomas's *Dictionarium* (not in the Texas collection). "For almost fifteen years," Professor Starnes paraphrases Holland,

as often as he could find an idle moment in his medical work, he was drawn by some power . . . to the pleasant gardens of grammar and to the reading of historians and poets. When, in the reading of various approved classical authors, he had collected many words and phrases, not, so far as he knew, observed by lexicographers, it seemed to him worth while to arrange these in alphabetical order and to make a supplement to a dictionary (p. 128).

A similar devotion to his tasks during a life full of teaching, committee work, and other administrative duties has improved both Professor Starnes' excellent book and the University of Texas' fine collection of early dictionaries.

WALDEN;  
OR,  
LIFE IN THE WOODS.

By HENRY D. THOREAU,  
AUTHOR OF "A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS."



I do not propose to write an ode to dejection, but to brag as lustily as chanticleer in the morning, standing on his roost, if only to wake my neighbors up. — Page 92.

BOSTON:  
TICKNOR AND FIELDS.  
M DCCCLIV.

Title page of the first edition of *Walden*, 1854, gift of E. DeGolyer.



# Walden and Ultima Thule: A Twin-Centennial

JOSEPH JONES

WELCOME, ENGLISHMEN! welcome, Englishmen!" for I had had communication with that race,' says Thoreau at the end of the sixth chapter of *Walden*. Of the few Englishmen with whom he had the opportunity to communicate, a young man named Thomas Cholmondeley was the most influential, not only by reason of his well-known gift of oriental books but also through direct associations. By coincidence, both published their major works during 1854, the year of their first meeting. To us, a hundred years now affords at least a little perspective in which to examine two sets of ideas by two uncommonly earnest young men of an uncommonly earnest era.<sup>1</sup>

During his first visit to the United States, in 1854, Cholmondeley had been a guest at the Thoreaus—a paying guest, sent there apparently by Emerson, whom he had come to see. Arthur Hugh Clough of Oriel, Cholmondeley's college at Oxford) had supplied an introduction to Emerson; and (according to F. B. Sanborn, the only extensive source of information) in August of 1854—the month *Walden* was published—he landed in America and proceeded to Concord. Arriving thus on the eve of the publication of *Walden*, and having published his own *Ultima Thule* a few months earlier, he must have found it interesting to compare notes with his new American acquaintance on the practices of London and Boston publishers. Whatever it was that brought them together—and

<sup>1</sup> A first edition of *Walden* (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1854)—as of the earlier *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (Boston: Munroe, 1849—in two states, one a first edition, first issue) and several other Thoreau volumes—came to the Rare Book Collections through the DeGolyer gift in the summer of 1946. Cholmondeley's *Ultima Thule*, a scarce item, has not yet been acquired, though more recent volumes on New Zealand are arriving in some quantity, as indicated later in this issue.

Thoreau's journal is noncommittal—they were soon good friends. Cholmondeley came again in 1858, urging Thoreau to go with him to the West Indies; but with his father in his final illness, the farthest Henry could venture was to New Bedford to let his friend inspect an American whaling town. Daniel Ricketson of New Bedford recalled the Englishman as "a man of fine culture and refinement of manners."

Cholmondeley's *Ultima Thule; or, Thoughts Suggested by a Residence in New Zealand* appeared during the early part of 1854, a few months before *Walden*. An extensive piece of advice on the formation and management of a colony, from the viewpoint of one who has gone out and returned, it expresses the hope that New Zealand may become a regenerated and self-reliant England. Utopian and practical in the same breath, it gives much space to a close examination of such matters as land sale, church government, agricultural economics, and native (Maori) policy. The burden of the argument is that New Zealand must be given a chance to develop after her own pattern; that an "artificial" system of development, imposed from outside, will retard and enfeeble her. Cholmondeley surveys the situation up to 1852 and, in the concluding chapters, returns to his plea for independence.

To judge from a short notice the book received in the *Athenaeum* (June 24, 1854) its reception was less cordial than the author might have desired. Complaining that Cholmondeley "adheres to notions that belong not only to the old world, but to a particularly backward class of the inhabitants thereof," the *Athenaeum* characterized it as better suited to the "gentlemanly emigrant" than to the "rough pioneer of civilization."

Cholmondeley, as a "gentlemanly emigrant" among a rapidly expanding society of such, had resided in New Zealand for little more than a year; but his book shows both a grasp of detail relating to the newly opened country and a deep concern for its future. He arrived not long after the original "Canterbury Pilgrims" had founded Christchurch at mid-century, and his coming was evidently inspired by the Canterbury movement. Affairs at home necessitated his return, he explains; otherwise he would have been happy to remain in New Zealand and help work out her destiny close at hand instead of writing about her from a distance. Part of the Cholmondeley family

did remain and—if geographical nomenclature is any indication—became fairly important: on the map of Canterbury included in Samuel Butler's *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement* the Rakaia River is marked as the Rakaia or Cholmondeley.

The prospect in New Zealand at the time was a good one; there was plenty of land, a powerful emigration movement, and a surprising number of the comforts of "home" (New Zealanders still call England "home") within a very few years. Cholmondeley felt this stirring and was genuinely drawn towards it; in particular, he saw New Zealand as a possible or even likely place for a reconstituted England. All this helps explain why so many cultivated, well-to-do Englishmen—"gentlemanly emigrants"—were willing to emigrate in the first place, and why they were willing to spend themselves so generously in guiding and underwriting the development of the new land.

It would seem, at first glance, that a book like *Ultima Thule* has little in common with *Walden*. Cholmondeley involves himself deeply in questions of political and ecclesiastical organization, quotes statistics and discusses economics, and is generally concerned with society after the manner of the nineteenth century liberal historian. Thoreau in effect secedes from society, the better to mind his own business, and has many caustic things to say about his neighbors remaining within the framework of the body politic. And yet the motif of withdrawal to a new and improved, or improvable, position is at the core of both works. The Canterbury Pilgrims, after their fashion, were taking a step motivated by an idealism referable in some measure to that which sent Thoreau to Walden—a step that involved for most of them, it may be noted, a much greater degree of finality. They were seceding too—from a tired and ailing England (as they thought) to a fresh country which would give the best traits of English society a free chance to develop. Things were to be better there; a "brighter Britain" was to emerge. It is apparent, too, from a reading of Cholmondeley and other writers of the time, that they felt they could mind their own affairs more freely than was possible at home—not that they were actively interfered with in England, but rather that they felt themselves in danger of suffocation. "Quiet desperation" lay also at the roots of the British mind. To this extent, then, *Ultima Thule* like *Walden* relates to a

deliberate and voluntary movement from an unsatisfactory condition to a better one.

The one great overriding difference lies between the institutionalism of Cholmondeley and the individualism of Thoreau. Cholmondeley was interested in working out his new and presumably better version of British society; the beginnings had already been made, and he took a practical view of how New Zealand should be developed. He wanted to see a transplanted church and state and school in substantially their existing forms but purged of special privilege and other abuses; New Zealand seemed England's chance to rectify its mistakes—best accomplished by permitting New Zealand Englishmen to develop according to their natural bent. But society must not go too far, the cautious young Englishman is quick to add. The warning is sounded in a remark quoted from a speech by James Edward Fitzgerald (later a friend of Samuel Butler; already a power in provincial politics) before the Provincial Council of Canterbury: "There is something, to my mind, awful in the prospect of the great mass of a community rapidly increasing in wealth and power, without that moral refinement which fits them to enjoy the one, or that intellectual cultivation which enables them to use the other."

Cholmondeley is at times so prim and orthodox that it is easy to understand the *Athenaeum's* impatience with him; yet he shows at other times a spirit that links him readily with the Transcendentalists. His concluding chapter, "Society and Its Institutions," offers a good instance of this in some remarks on Coleridge, whose reasoning "was all to the end that the intuitive power might be redeemed, not that the natural should be sold into slavery." Cholmondeley's interpretation of Christ's saying "Ye are the salt of the earth" is that "the preservation of the world, in freshness and sweetness of life, depends on its *men*." This is Unthoreauvian enough ("In wilderness," said Thoreau, "is the preservation of the world"), but more than a little Emersonian, particularly in the analysis of law:

It is only another way of stating that the law was made for man, not man for the law. In short, that all outward forms, laws, and constitution[s] proceeding from within man—from that internal source, his living will—whenever they become separated from their origin, very soon corrupt, or simply lapse and melt

away. "Have, therefore, *salt within* yourselves;" remember alone where your real strength lies. It is an assertion of the true position of humanity in its superiority to law of the second class (law which man can make and unmake), which is his servant: and its dependence on "the Word"—the highest law—the life within . . . upon recognising and obeying which humanity depends.

Upon this premise he hangs his case for what we should call the "functional" approach to constitution-making for New Zealand, in both church and state. It is not difficult to understand why Cholmondeley came to Concord to see Emerson.

But for all this, a fair bit of what Cholmondeley says about New Zealand finds an echo in Thoreau's doctrine of "the wild"—the restorative quality of untamed nature (sometimes "the West") to which Thoreau returns again and again. *Ultima Thule* begins with a short dissertation (Chapter I: "A New Nation") pointing out that a new country introduces a fresh element into all former calculations, either by the act of creation as in the world's early commonwealths formed by Moses and Lycurgus or by the later process of renovation by "more ordinary machinery" and "light borrowed from some older country." New and old will develop strong affinities and strong antipathies, but both should ultimately benefit by the exchange. The succeeding chapters insist that emigration and colonization should not be considered synonymously, offering reasons why "natural formation" is preferable to "artificial extensions." The right principle is to "draw out and assist, but never to supplant . . . private enterprise"; all arrangements regarding immigration should begin and end with individuals, not groups or masses.

Then there were the Maoris of New Zealand who in many particulars must have seemed like the American Indians. Cholmondeley wonders, with the historian Niebuhr, whether savages are degraded men or men in an earlier stage of development; with fear as their characteristic, he decides, they can scarcely represent man in his original form; hence they must be degraded. (Benjamin Franklin, who shortly before the American Revolution thought well enough of what he had heard of the Maoris to project a "Scheme to Convey the Conveniences of Life, Domestic Animals, Corn, Iron, etc., to New Zealand," appears to have felt quite differently about them.) It is the work of religion, as the chief glory of civilization,

to restore such fallen ancestors. There has been some degree of success in New Zealand, but it is too often temporary, Cholmondeley admits. Besides, he is preoccupied with working out a new and different system of church polity for the New Zealand Church of England.

Thoreau, on the other hand, could hardly subscribe to a degradation theory, nor would he have been anxious to see the Indian tamed and "restored" by religion. What needed restoration was civilization itself (along with religion as a part of it), and the savage was the only one who—in theory, at least—could offer such restoration. Thoreau did not refine his ideas to the point of an enquiry into whether the contact between civilization and wilderness might prove, or could prove, mutually beneficial. He was never quite close enough to man (either white or red) on the frontier to see for himself what was happening; and anyway it is not clear, in Thoreau's view of things, how civilization can be much affected except through individuals. And his friend Cholmondeley, though he had resided in New Zealand and no doubt had read a good deal about the Maoris, was really in not much better position to judge; he had seen comparatively few Maoris on South Island and would have needed to be a "pakeha Maori" (white trader loosely attached to a tribe) to savor and appraise the results of sustained contact. Expecting less, he would probably have been less shaken than Thoreau was by his sojourns among the Indians of the Maine woods, who turned out to be not very satisfactory noble savages. His position, in fact, was roughly analagous to Thoreau's: South Islanders who remained on South Island saw very few of the "cannibals" and were untouched by the ferocious Maori wars, just as New Englanders, insulated by distance from the Battle of Tippecanoe or the Custer Massacre, had little or no direct contact with tribes of Indians. However, the mere presence of a man who had so recently responded to a pioneering impulse must have been refreshing to Thoreau.

More to the immediate question of immigration, Thoreau's case-history of John Field the Irish immigrant finds abundant parallel in Cholmondeley, who interviewed not one but several immigrants and reported on their situations: a North Ireland carpenter, a German shoemaker, a Scotch farmer, and some common laborers of the John Field variety. He found that generally speaking, New Zealand



had offered adequate opportunity, though it was a delusion to suppose that the common laborer would always be sure to succeed. And his standards were less exacting than those of Thoreau, who despaired of doing much for the Fields because they in turn despaired of following his Spartan prescription. They felt, in fact, that they had improved their position by coming to America where they could have meat and coffee: what could a Transcendentalist do with such people, who prefer to stay vulgar, who will not realize that "the only true America is that country where you are at liberty to pursue such a mode of life as may enable you to do without these, and where the state does not endeavor to compel you to sustain the slavery and war and other superfluous expenses which directly or indirectly result from the use of such things"? Truly, Thoreau concluded, "the culture of an Irishman is an enterprise to be undertaken with a sort of moral bog hoe."

Thoreau's "only true America" is in sharp contrast with Cholmondeley's ideas—echoing common opinion of the time—of what "Americanisation" might bring. "Americanisation" was synonymous with vulgarization, already making inroads in Australia (and here one recalls Thoreau's remarks on the Australian mines in "Life Without Principle")—a scourge to be avoided like the scab in sheep. However, in New Zealand "the American element, which seems destined to gain the upper hand in most of our colonies, will meet with a greater check . . . than anywhere else." This is the echo of Mrs. Trollope and Dickens and a dozen other Englishmen, not to mention such Eastern American observers as Timothy Dwight. But not everything American was bad; there seemed in fact to be a great deal of practical freedom in America as contrasted with the theoretical liberty of the unhealthy society of England which must not be permitted to duplicate itself in New Zealand. "Our common people look to America with longing, very chiefly on this account;—because society there is not hampered with so tight a uniform." Though "colonial society Americanises," and though society in New Zealand must therefore "Americanise" too, it promised to retain more British traits than other colonies, remaining relatively respectable and conservative. (When Cholmondeley says "other colonies," one suspects he must have Australia chiefly in mind.) He found it comforting to realize that "the very nature of the country will be

found to be anti-American [i.e., resistant to vulgarization]. It is small, detached from others, mountainous, and intensely local."

Cholmondeley touches both the Anglo-American question and a pet idea of Thoreau's when he says:

It is a fashionable error to institute an invidious comparison between England and the United States of America. Unquestionably those States offer advantages to many Englishmen, such as England herself does not at present afford; and yet it is well known to those who have followed the colonist to his new home, that, had the same amount of energy and sagacity, which he had been obliged to put forth in Ohio or Illinois, been executed in England they would have gone far to render the move unnecessary:—they would have secured to him an independence in his native village.

And a man needs to think seriously before leaving his country (Thoreau's verses "Though all the fates should prove unkind / Leave not your native land behind" come readily to mind); for "when will any single state, or any single colony to which a man can possibly migrate, contain so many aids of life as are to be concentrated in England?" Cholmondeley is intensely aware of the profusion of comfort—for the well-to-do—that attracted Emerson (*English Traits*). "Where," he continues, "have the gifts of Providence been more lavishly, more prodigally bestowed?"

How many years will it require to enable New England to rival its mother country in the means and appliances of civilisation! Should the New England States, indeed, present material advantages as great as those of our country, how many centuries of political and social development will be required to place them on an historical level with England! As yet the struggle of classes has not commenced in America—the various difficulties which go along with such a struggle and accompany the condensation of population are a page of life as yet unturned by her.

What, we still must ask, was the real basis of the friendship between Thoreau and Cholmondeley? Ideologically, they were not so very close; but it was not necessary for Thoreau to agree with a man to like him. Socially, as well, they must have seemed rather far apart. But there is a very substantial clue in *Walden* and *Ultima Thule* as well as in the gift of the Cholmondeley orientalia: a com-



mon devotion to idealism. Both were completely sincere men, and Thoreau would be drawn towards Cholmondeley's sincerity in the same way as towards Mary Moody Emerson's. A reading of the Thoreau-Cholmondeley correspondence suggests immediately the strength of the bond between the friends and at the same time reveals many fundamental differences which they were able to tolerate. It suggests also that in Cholmondeley, Thoreau found a new and significant friendship on terms of a more perfect equality than had been possible with most of his Concord associates—Emerson not excepted—at a time when it was both welcome and useful; it was a friendship in the direction of the ideal set forth in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. Accident kept it from developing further than it did, and in a few years both men were dead, long before their time. There are numerous sidelights, not the least of which is Cholmondeley's response to a gift of books from Thoreau which included Whitman's 1855 *Leaves of Grass*. The Englishman was more puzzled than edified: "Here are Leaves, indeed, which I can no more understand than the book of Enoch or the inedited poems of Daniel!"

Temperamental differences between the men mark certain attitudes quite strongly: Cholmondeley is the Tennysonian ("Locksley Hall") young Englishman, particularly when he gives himself over to sombre reflections upon history and its meaning; Thoreau is the confident, expansive American ready to hear the cock-crow every morning, or at any rate quite sure that *not* to be ready is not to be healthy. The manner in which each chooses to close his book is revealing. Cholmondeley after drawing up a "scheme of a history of New Zealand" and advising future historians as to their obligations, cautions posterity that though the vision of the future may encourage men who are now despondent, there is no warrant for thinking history will not repeat itself: "The shadow of the past is only another name for the herald of the future. Whatever slight changes may give variety to the future history of the children of men, it will be, in all its greater features, only a repetition of the past." Thoreau, almost as if in answering protest, insists that there is "an incessant influx of novelty into the world" which makes it possible that the life in us "may rise this year higher than man has ever known it." Finally, "There is more day to dawn. The sun is but a morning star."

These vastly differing perorations may be fairly taken as gauges of fundamental tone: *shadow . . . repetition—influx . . . morning star*—the imagery alone is indicative. New Zealand can be no more than an improved shadow of Britain; America can be whatever she pleases.

But this is not to suggest that Cholmondeley despaired of anything really significant in New Zealand—far from it. Nor should we forget that Thoreau found more in America to censure than to praise. Still, the contrast suggests applications on an international scale that even after a hundred years may continue to be instructive. In these two works we see reflected two tendencies of the nineteenth century which divided not only men but nations: in *Ultima Thule* the drive of institutions towards their own utopian perfection, in *Walden* the sturdy resistance by the individual to this same drive. Now, we are prone to think, the issue is climactic.

# National Anthems North and South of the Rio Bravo

NETTIE LEE BENSON

THE DATES 1854 and 1954 are important to Mexico. A hundred years ago her national anthem was adopted, and this year hardly a day passes without some centennial tribute, printed, spoken, or sung. Like our own "The Star-Spangled Banner," the "Himno Nacional Mexicano" was a product of the mother country and the offspring; both songs evolved some thirty odd years after independence; the entertainment field played a large part in either the origin or the diffusion of both; and both were criticized on the basis that the music was not appropriate for singing by the general public.

"The Star-Spangled Banner" was inspired by an incident occurring during the War of 1812. In its first printing its title "Defence of Fort M'Henry" indicated the event it commemorated and a brief line preceding the first verse the tune to which it was to be sung, that of the well-known British convivial song "To Anacreon in Heaven" composed by John Stafford Smith sometime between 1771-1776 for the London Anacreontic Society.<sup>1</sup> This tune was well-known in the United States, having been popularized by immigrant singers, "native poetasters" who were continually fitting new words to the tune in celebration of some patriotic theme, and by Robert Treat Paine's song, "Adams and Liberty," which according to Victor Weybright was the most popular political song ever sung in America and the song upon which most of the American parodies were based.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not Key knew the original words

<sup>1</sup> Victor Weybright, *Spangled Banner*. (New York, 1935), pp. 137-138, 150; Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, "The Star Spangled Banner" (Washington, 1914), 9-64 and plate XV.

<sup>2</sup> Weybright, *op. cit.*, 143.

of "To Anacreon in Heaven" written by Ralph Tomlinson, he undoubtedly knew the tune and meter as revealed in "Adams and Liberty," and had in 1804 employed the tune in a song sung at a banquet for officers returning from Tripoli;<sup>3</sup> and he had "either the meter and form of words and air of 'To Anacreon in Heaven' or one of its American offshoots in mind as a scaffold when he wrote his poem."<sup>4</sup> Thus did a native son of Britain contribute the music to the national anthem of the United States.

The story of the production of the Mexican national anthem is not so simply told, however; for although it too received its music from a Spaniard rather than a Mexican, the music was not first set to other words but was expressly composed to accompany the verses already adopted as those of the national anthem. Nor were the words inspired by any single historical event as were those of "The Star-Spangled Banner." The Mexican national anthem was the product of a long series of trials and failures in which many poets, composers, opera empresarios, and entertainers played a part.

In the land of the *sones*, of the fandangos and mariachis, of the *corrida* or ballad,<sup>5</sup> where everyone creates his own poetry, it is not surprising that many patriotic songs were offered before one was adopted as the national hymn. Nor is it surprising that the theme of the poem adopted came from a Spanish patriotic song written in Spain in 1808. Spain for centuries had sung songs of patriotism; but in 1808, when Napoleon Bonaparte allured first Charles IV and then his son, Ferdinand VII, into captivity in France and put brother Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne, a veritable deluge of patriotic verse poured forth. Among the hundreds of loyal Spaniards contributing to this flow was the celebrated Spanish poet, historian, and editor of the weekly *Semanario Patriótico* (Madrid, 1809-1812), Manuel José Quintana, whose ode entitled "A España en Abril de 1808" was included in his work *España Libre. Odas*, which was published in Mexico in 1808. In the ninth stanza of this ode are the lines

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 145-147.

<sup>4</sup> Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 79.

<sup>5</sup> Miguel Galindo in *Nociones de Historia de la Música Mexicana* (Mexico, 1933), I, 243, says that the *corrida* or ballad was a degeneration of the old legendary romances, followed soon afterwards by the gloomy, grave, sad Castilian song of the forests and fields, which in turn was followed by the Andalusian song.

"Volemos al combate, a la venganza,  
Y el que niegue su pecho a la esperanza,  
Hunde en el polvo la cobarde frente."

Forty-four years were to pass on before these lines were to be indelibly linked to the Mexican national anthem, however. In 1809, Mexico, as a part of the Spanish kingdom and loyal to its King Ferdinand VII, not only joined with Quintana in his songs of freedom and love of Spain but contributed its share of verse to the swelling chorus. Even as late as 1820 patriotic poems showing loyalty to the mother land were being written and published in Mexico, as witnessed by the *Himno Patriótico Que Se Cantó en el Teatro de México la Noche del 9 de Julio de 1820 en Celebridad del Soberano Congreso Nacional Que Empezó Sus Sesiones en Este Día* (México, 1820). This was sung in the principal theater of Mexico City, on July 9, 1820, in celebration of the opening on that day in Madrid of the Spanish Cortes, and was also published three days later in the Mexican weekly, *Semanario Político y Literario*.

Only a little over six months later, however, Agustín Iturbide issued the Plan of Iguala and joined forces with the insurgents who had been fighting for Mexican independence since 1810 under the leadership of Hidalgo, Morelos, Guadalupe Victoria, Guerrero, and others. And, as was natural, the events following the proclamation of the Plan of Iguala inspired much patriotic verse.

During the next twenty-seven years numerous poems were written and sung commemorating the deeds of the heroes of independence and of the many heroes of the tumultuous period during which Mexico experienced not only numerous uprisings within its own borders, including that in which Texas became an independent republic, but also war with the United States and with Spain. But none of the many songs endured or became the national anthem; perhaps not so much because of lack of quality or merit as because of the facility with which another song more fitting to the new occasion flowed from Mexican hearts and lips, and because of the innate Mexican individuality and resistance to the repetition of a performance, no matter how perfectly it may have been done the first time.

The first serious attempt to furnish Mexico with an official national anthem came in 1849, and was initiated as a result of the

rivalry between two foreign musical empresarios performing in Mexico in 1849. One was Heinrich Herzt, a well-known Viennese pianist and composer of his day, who was assisted by a group of the best Mexican musicians. The other was Robert Nicolas Charles Bochsá, composer and eminent harpist, and husband of the singer Anna Bishop, a high soprano of brilliant quality.

Bochsá and his troupe arrived in Mexico City before Herzt and engaged the Teatro Nacional for their performances. When Herzt arrived he could find no suitable place for his concerts. He was not only an extremely capable pianist but a great showman, who had come to America in order to repair his losses due to the failure of a piano factory venture and to obtain the necessary capital for establishing his own piano factory in Paris. To be successful he had to make his trip to America pay financially, and to do this he had to attract a large public. It is not surprising, therefore, that he seized upon the idea of appealing to Mexican patriotism in several ways. First, he employed the best of Mexican talent to assist him. Second, shortly after his arrival early in July he insinuated that Mexico should have a national anthem and offered to compose the music for the winning poem in a literary contest to be held for the purpose of obtaining a national anthem. The idea appealed to the Mexican newspapermen, especially the oldest paper, *El Siglo XIX*, which through its columns of July 24 and August 5 promoted the Herzt suggestion. Third, he composed the *Polka del Siglo* (México, 1849) in honor of the newspaper which had supported his idea of a national anthem, and played it at his first concert on August 6. And fourth, he collected and arranged an album of Mexican national airs.

Herzt's maneuvers did win him the popular acclaim he desired to the extent that a later Mexican writer criticized some of the measures resulting from this popularity as ridiculous, especially the order of President José Joaquín de Herrera to the Minister of War instructing him to order the governors of the states to furnish Herzt with military escorts during his tour of the provinces.<sup>6</sup> This act by Herrera probably accounts for the fact that today one reads on page 317 of volume four of the second edition of *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Generale de la Musique*, edited by F. J.

<sup>6</sup> Enrique Olavarria y Ferrari, *Reseña Histórica del Teatro en México*. 2ed. (4 vols. Mexico, 1895), II, 147-148.

Fétis, that Herzt on the order of President Herrera composed a setting for a poem which had been chosen in a literary contest and which afterwards became the national anthem.

Herzt did compose a hymn to the poem which was selected as a result of a literary contest, held at his suggestion and through the urging of *El Siglo XIX* by the Academia de San Juan de Letrán, which issued its call for poems on August 14<sup>7</sup> and at a public session on September 4 rendered its decision on the sixteen poems entered. The jury drawn from the flower of Mexican poets of the day—José M. Lacunza, José Joaquín Pesado, Manuel Carpio, Andrés Quintana Roo, and Alejandro Arango y Escandón—indicated in its report its disapproval of such a method of obtaining a national anthem when it stated that to hope to obtain one by literary competition was asking too much of art, for such a song could be born only of national events, contemporaneous only with moments of great enthusiasm and consecrated by the memory of great actions or by the solemnity bestowed by the memory of glorious persons or times. It therefore refused to declare any of the entries a national anthem, but stated that instead it had formed its judgment solely on the merits of the poem as one to be used in singing at national functions until events gave birth to an inspiration that could be adopted as the country's vocal expression of union or of war and could be transmitted to the future generations, touching the heart strings of all Mexicans. After explaining its verdict, the jury named the poem of Andrés Davis Bradburn<sup>8</sup> as winner of first place and that of Félix María Escalante, of second place.

There is little doubt that when Herzt first made his proposals in July, 1849, he had hoped to present the national anthem for the first time during the two day celebration of Mexican independence on September 15–16. For him to have had an important part in the activities of those days would have certainly been of benefit to him. The presentation did not take place at that time, however, probably for two reasons—first the obvious disapproval of the jury to such a method of obtaining a national anthem. The publication on Septem-

<sup>7</sup> *El Siglo XIX*, August 14, 1849.

<sup>8</sup> *El Siglo XIX*, September 7, 1849; Olavarría y Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 155; Bernardino Beltrán, *Historia del Himno Nacional Mexicano y Narraciones Históricas de Sus Autores*, D. Francisco González Bocanegra y D. Jaime Nunó. (Mexico, 1939), 29–30.



ber 7 in *El Siglo XIX* of the full text of the jury's opinion on the subject certainly must have indicated to Herzt that the mood of the public would not be receptive to a presentation of his national anthem at that time. Second, the decision was not rendered until September 7, leaving Herzt only eight days to compose the music if it were to be presented on September 15.

Whatever the cause, the much publicized national anthem was not presented until December 19, after Herzt had returned from a tour of the states; and then it was not called the national anthem but rather the "national march" of Herzt. Beginning with the December 5 issue of *El Siglo XIX* an attractive advertisement appeared offering for sale the national march composed for the Mexicans by Henri Herzt and published by I. Cumplido. And on December 19 the same newspaper announced for that night in the Gran Teatro Nacional the "Marcha Nacional" of Herzt to be played by two military bands and the enlarged theater orchestra. From that day forward no other mention is made of the Herzt national march. He wrote a book after his return to Paris, *Mes Voyages en Amérique* (Paris, 1866), but in it the only mention of his visit to Mexico appears on the next to the last page where he says that he also visited Havana, Mexico, California, Peru and Chile and perhaps at a future date might continue the story of his travels. Olavarría y Ferrari says that Herzt's national march failed to appeal to the people, and in a short time ceased to be heard except in an occasional parade.<sup>9</sup>

Bochsa, who had made a contract for the Gran Teatro Nacional before the arrival of Herzt, was maneuvered out of it by him early in August, 1849. As a result, Bochsa and his troupe, including Anna Bishop and Valtellina, the bass, went on a tour of the Mexican states, not returning to Mexico until February 20, 1850. Bochsa, not to be outdone by his rival and desiring to show his skill at composition, set to music a patriotic poem written by the Cuban, Juan Miguel Losada, and dedicated it to President José Joaquín Herrera. Bochsa had succeeded in obtaining the Gran Teatro Nacional again for his performances. (By this date Herzt was in California.) There on the night of February 24, the attractive Anna Bishop, dressed as the Goddess of Liberty, sang Bochsa's anthem and was so warmly applauded that she sang it a second time. *El Siglo XIX*, which had

<sup>9</sup> Olavarría y Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 147.



made no comment after the performance of Herzt's composition, said that Bochsa's song was destined to be of the greatest popularity in drawing rooms as well as in patriotic celebrations, and therefore it should be adopted.<sup>10</sup>

Antonio Barilli, an Italian composer and director, was also in Mexico with an Italian opera company during 1850; and following the now established practice of opera directors, he announced in *El Siglo XIX* of October 8, 1850, that as part of the program for that night all the company and choruses accompanied by the orchestra would present a national anthem (Himno Nacional) with music composed by Antonio Barilli as an expression of gratitude and in honor of the republic, the words written expressly for this purpose by a young Mexican. At the opera performance on October 12, 1850, the Barilli anthem was repeated.<sup>11</sup> And in honor of President Mariano Arista's birthday, Barilli, on July 26, 1851, presented another anthem.<sup>12</sup> Both of these apparently attracted little interest, for no comment in regard to them has been found.

Max Maretzek, composer and opera empresario, was the next to try his hand at giving Mexico an anthem. He arrived there from the United States on May 6, 1852, with an Italian opera company, including the prima donna, Balbina Steffennone, the harpist, Apollonia Bertucca, and the tenor, Lorenzo Salvi. The company, which also performed in the Teatro Nacional, on July 16, in honor again of President Arista's birthday, sang a *Himno Nacional* composed by Maretzek for the occasion. Maretzek did not mention it in his book *Crotchets and Quavers: or Revelations of an Opera Manager in America* (New York, 1855), in which he gives an amusing account of his experiences in Mexico. Perhaps his failure to mention it was due to its lack of success.

President Arista's government was overthrown in January, 1853, and Santa Anna was elected to hold office for one year. He was formally proclaimed president on April 20, with powers such as no Mexican had ever enjoyed before. Two days later in the Gran Teatro de Santa Anna, as a part of the three-day celebration of Santa Anna's arrival in the city, a national anthem especially written in

<sup>10</sup> Beltrán, *op. cit.*, 31-32; Olavarría y Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 156.

<sup>11</sup> *El Siglo XIX*, October 12, 1850.

<sup>12</sup> Beltrán, *op. cit.*, 32-33; Olavarría y Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 166.

honor of Santa Anna was sung. The music was composed by Inocencio Pellegrini and was sung by thirty-two voices accompanied by the orchestra and a military band. It was to be played upon Santa Anna's appearance in the theater and was played even though Santa Anna did not come that night. It was presented again at the afternoon performance of Sunday, April 24, for the benefit of those that had not heard it the first time.<sup>13</sup>

To have poems and songs written and sung in his honor was no new experience to Santa Anna, who had been in and out of the presidency of Mexico many times since 1832. Whether he decided in 1853 that he would like to have the same song sung in his honor on every official occasion, or whether he was induced by friends to go down in history as the one to give to Mexico an official national anthem as is sometimes stated, he did just that. On November 12, 1853, Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, Secretary of Agriculture, Colonization, Industry and Commerce, announced that His Excellency, the President, desiring that a truly patriotic song be adopted by the Supreme Government as the national anthem (*Himno Nacional*), had resolved to open a prizewinning literary contest for the best poetic composition offered for the purpose, the winner to be chosen by an especially named jury composed of writers. All entries were to be sent to the Secretary within twenty days of the date of the publication of the announcement under a pseudonym in the form of a theme or lemma corresponding to one on a sealed envelope accompanying the composition and containing the name of the author. Only the envelope of the prize winner was to be opened. This announcement first appeared in the *Diario Oficial* of November 14, 1853 and in *El Siglo XIX* the next day. It re-appeared in the official organ on fifteen different days.

Bernardo Couto, Manuel Carpio and José Joaquin Pesado, all distinguished poets, were informed on December 9, 1853, that they had been named by the President to select the winner from among the twenty-five poems offered.<sup>14</sup> On the following day, December

<sup>13</sup> *El Siglo XIX*, April 22, 23, 24, 1853.

<sup>14</sup> Francisco Sosa, "El Himno Nacional Mexicano" in *Revista Nacional de Letras y Ciencias* (Mexico, 1889), I, 70, says twenty-six poems were offered, but the official report says twenty-five. See Beltrán, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39. Two of the judges named in this contest, Carpio and Pesado, had served in the earlier 1849 contest involving Herzt.

10, still another musician tried to give to Mexico a national anthem, composed in honor also of Santa Anna and dedicated to him by Sr. Infante.<sup>15</sup>

The verdict of the jury named by Santa Anna, on December 9, 1853, was published in the *Diario Oficial* of February 5, 1854, and in *El Siglo XIX* two days later, both of which papers carried also the winning poem preceded with its lemma of three lines taken from Quintana's ode "A España en Abril de 1808." The winner was the Mexican poet Francisco González Bocanegra. The announcement of Secretary Lerdo de Tejada also called for a contest of composers to present within sixty days after February 3, 1854, musical compositions to fit the poem.

Francisco González Bocanegra, having been notified of his success, wrote a letter on February 3 to His Serene Highness,<sup>16</sup> dedicating the anthem to Santa Anna; and shortly thereafter the poem with the dedication and letter was published by the Imprenta de Vicente Segura with the title *Himno Nacional* (México, 1854). In the Latin American Collection of the University of Texas Library is one of the few known copies of this first edition of the words of the Mexican national anthem.

The two-months limit set for the composers passed and still another month with no further information about the national anthem being made known. Apparently some of the composers became impatient with the delay and one of them, Giovanni Bottesini, celebrated double bass virtuoso and composer who was conducting an Italian opera company in Mexico at that time, decided to wait no longer for the decision before presenting his composition adapted to the words of González Bocanegra. In the Gran Teatro de Santa Anna, on the night of May 17, 1854, the eminent dramatic soprano, Henriette Sontag, sang the verses of the anthem with all the troupe singing the chorus and Antonio Barilli directing the orchestra. Two days later, *El Siglo XIX* said that the poet and composer had not failed to stay within the rules of art, but that the adoption of a song by a people as a rallying song of war and of victory depended, as both poets and musicians knew, on circumstances.

<sup>15</sup> Olavarría y Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 204-205.

<sup>16</sup> Santa Anna preferred this title to that of emperor during his brief stay in power between 1853-1855.

Still another composer, Giovanni Nicolao, cymbalist and director, in honor of His Serene Highness, on May 18, in the Teatro de Oriente, presented to the public his version of the music that should be adopted for the national anthem. The words, sung by another fine Italian opera company, were not those entered in the anthem writing contest but words especially written for this occasion by González Bocanegra. *El Siglo XIX*, commenting on this production on May 20, said the music was martial and harmonious enough and somewhat dramatic, like the grand finale of an opera with a certain resemblance to *Hernani*.

It seemed that everyone in Bottesini's company wanted to present his version of a national anthem. At the performance on June 11, 1854, of the opera *Lucretia Borgia*, in which Sontag and Ceasar Badiali were to sing the leading roles, the entire cast was to sing a patriotic composition composed by Badiali, baritone, composer, and director in the same company with Bottesini and Barilli. This performance never took place, for on June 11 Henriette Sontag became ill with cholera from which she never recovered. On June 15, she took a turn for the better and that night her husband Count Rossi took part in a celebration in the Teatro de Oriente, celebrating Santa Anna's birthday, at which time a national march composed by a Mexican musician, José Antonio Gómez, was played and sung by the troupe. But even that night many numbers of the program had to be omitted because various members of the company were ill of cholera.<sup>17</sup>

Over six months after the announcement of the contest for the best musical setting for the national anthem, the verdict of the jury—José Antonio Gómez, Agustín Balderas, and Tomás León—appointed to choose the winner from among the sixteen musical entries was published in the *Diario Oficial* of August 14, when it was announced that the entry with the lemma "Dios y Libertad" (God and Liberty) had won but that when the corresponding envelope was opened, just the initials J. N. were found. The person who had

<sup>17</sup> Sontag died of cholera on June 17, 1854. She was a great favorite in Mexico and poems were written in her honor by Pantaleón Tovar, Juan Miguel de Losada, Narciso Bassols, Emilio Rey, Francisco Granados Maldonado, J. de J. Cervantes, J. Rivero y Río, José Mariá Ramírez, V. Ambriz, and others (*El Siglo XIX*, June 19-25, 1854); and many other tributes were paid her. Several other singers in her company died also from the disease.

signed himself J. N. was asked to make his identity known to Secretary Lerdo de Tejada.<sup>18</sup>

The composer was Jaime Nunó, a Spanish organist, conductor, bandmaster, and composer, who had studied first in Barcelona and then in Italy with Mercadante. He later was sent by the King of Spain to Cuba to establish band music there. Santa Anna, on his way back to Mexico in 1852, had met Nunó in Cuba and offered him the position of general director of military bands and music with a large salary. Nunó arrived in Mexico in 1853 and began at once to take an active part in all musical activities there. As soon as it was known that Nunó was the composer, he was instructed on August 12 to arrange the music for bands and orchestras so that it could be used for the forthcoming independence day celebrations. Nunó made the arrangements and had two hundred and thirty copies lithographed by Murguía at his own expense.<sup>19</sup>

Even though Nunó had won and his music had been declared that of the official national anthem, many were not willing to accept the decision. *El Siglo XIX*, which had previously criticized Nunó's being named to the directorship of military bands because he was a foreigner, did not give any publicity to the fact that he had won the contest. And in some of the newspapers in September under the title "Himnos Patrios" (national anthems), it was stated that during that month the public would have the pleasure of hearing three of them sung in the Teatro de Santa Anna: on the 11th, that of the maestro Bottesini, on the 15th, that of Mr. Jaime Nunó,<sup>19a</sup> and on the 27th, that of the young Mexican, Luis Barragán. From these three anthems, the patriotic enthusiasm should adopt the one that pleased it best to celebrate the triumphs of the republic.<sup>20</sup>

The attitude of *El Siglo XIX* toward Nunó was clearly indicated by its treatment of the first public presentation of his winning composition. Whereas in its columns of September 11, 1854, it announced that Bottesini's composition for the anthem would be pre-

<sup>18</sup> Beltrán, *op. cit.*, 43-45.

<sup>19</sup> Beltrán, *op. cit.*, 46-47.

<sup>19a</sup> The very manner in which Bottesini was referred to as the maestro (master or composer) while Nunó was called simply "Mister" showed how the newspaper felt toward the two. Bottesini had been one of the sixteen who had entered the contest as had the young Mexican musician, Luis Barragán.

<sup>20</sup> Beltrán, *op. cit.*, 50-51.

sented that night upon the arrival of Santa Anna for Donzetti's opera *Belisario*, and on the following day stated that this anthem seemed to be a composition of great merit and worthy of becoming a popular and martial song, it did not even mention Nunó prior to the first presentation of his song. In announcing, on September 14, the independence day celebration for September 15 and 16, it merely stated that the national anthem would be sung on September 15 and Francisco González Bocanegra would make the principal address. On commenting on the celebrations of the fifteenth, the newspaper stated that the national anthem of Mr. Nunó was sung, that the chorus began with animation and vigour but faded in the last notes, that the verses as sung by Sra. Fiorentini and Sr. Salvi were pretty, appeared well written and could be the andante of a cavatina but were not suitable for a popular song, and finally that at the end there was a rather displeasing staccato note. Although Nunó's music was to be used again on the night that this comment appeared in the paper, no account of this was printed except in the paid advertisement of the Gran Teatro de Santa Anna announcing the performance of Donzetti's *Attila*, where it was emphasized that the music by the composer, Jaime Nunó, had been declared by the government to be that of the national anthem of the republic. But on the day following, *El Siglo XIX* again criticized the composition, stating that Nunó's music lacked much of being that of a popular, martial song, that to the chorus had been added a syllable not written by the poet, that there was a rallentando completely improper in a military march, and that although the music for the verses had some merit, it could not be sung easily except by such artists as Fiorentino, Steffennone or Salvi and thus would never be heard on the lips of the people.

Many of the criticisms thus levelled against the Mexican national anthem were also directed against "The Star-Spangled Banner" when its official adoption was first debated in Congress in 1930. It was described as "warlike," mediocre, stilted, without poetic merit, and written in honor of an event of no importance in American history; and its music was denounced as unsingable, un-American, unmarchable, and beyond the vocal range of patriots.<sup>21</sup>

Although the Mexican national anthem was officially adopted in

<sup>21</sup> Weybright, *op. cit.*, 164-165.



1854 by the government, it had to stand the test of time and events before being accepted by the nation as its song. Even at the time of its adoption Santa Anna's government was under strong attack, a movement having been launched against him as early as March of that year; and before another September arrived he had fled Mexico for the last time. It was to be expected that his opponents would not take enthusiastically to a national anthem dedicated to him and with a stanza that honored his achievement in a battle against his victors.

The event that the jury as well as the newspaper, *El Siglo XIX*, had declared necessary to the consecration of a truly national song did not occur until May 5, 1862, when on the outskirts of Puebla, a small ill-equipped Mexican army succeeded for the first time in withstanding a much larger, well-equipped French army on its way to take Mexico City for the misled and tragic Maximilian I. In this battle was heard the music of the *Himno Nacional Mexicano*, whose first verse after giving expression to a yearning for God-given peace at the same time is a rallying cry against the foreign aggressor:

Mas si osare un extraño enemigo  
Profanar con su planta tu suelo  
Piensa, ¡oh, Patria querida! que el Cielo  
Un soldado en cada hijo te dió.

and whose chorus contains the martial words

Mexicanos, al grito de guerra  
El acero aprestad y el bridón,  
Y retiemble en sus centros la tierra,  
Al sonoro rugir del cañon.

This helped to inspire the Mexican army under the leadership of General Ignacio Zaragoza<sup>22</sup> to turn back the French forces and gave Benito Juárez time to rally his forces and to prepare for the long, final struggle of the republican forces against the monarchists, a struggle that had been going on ever since independence. And most of all it gave the republicans a battle hymn, for from that day on the *Himno Nacional Mexicano* became their song.

It is not known whether Maximilian knew that this song and its music had inspired the Mexican armies to such valorous action

<sup>22</sup> General Zaragoza was born near Goliad, Texas, while it was still a part of Mexico.

against his forces on May 5, 1862, or not. Possibly he did not, or his advisers were not aware of this fact when he arrived in Mexico in 1864 to become emperor, for it is said that the music written by Nunó was considered even by Maximilian as that of the national anthem although the words had been replaced with others.<sup>23</sup> Just what these words were has not been ascertained. At the time of Maximilian's triumphal entry into Mexico many hymns were written and sung in his honor, some of which could have been sung to Nunó's music.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore Jaime Nunó arrived in Mexico with an Italian opera company early in July, 1864,<sup>25</sup> less than a month after Maximilian's arrival. It would not be strange for him to have played his music at some time while he was there, for he was director of the company playing at the Gran Teatro Imperial, which had a very successful season and remained there until after December 8. During the independence day celebrations, *El Pajaro Verde* of September 16 announced that on that night in the Teatro Principal a national anthem would be sung. It is not known which national anthem was sung or if the function took place, since the city was inundated by torrential rains on the afternoon of that day. It is known that Nunó's troupe took part in the independence celebrations held on the preceding night in the Gran Teatro Imperial, and it is not unlikely that his music was played and sung on that night.<sup>26</sup>

Regardless of whether Nunó's music was used by Maximilian or not, it was its adoption by the republican forces that consecrated it. They were eventually successful in their struggle against the monarchists, and the *Himno Nacional Mexicano* was their national anthem as it remains today. Juárez gave his approval to the authentic

<sup>23</sup> Beltrán, *op. cit.*, 78.

<sup>24</sup> *Colección de las Composiciones Poéticas Inscritas en los Arcos y Arrojadadas al Paso de SS. MM. en su Solemne Entrada a la Capital del Imperio*. (México, 1864); *Advenimiento de SS. MM. II Maximiliano y Carlota al Trono de México*. (Mexico, 1864.)

<sup>25</sup> Nunó had left Mexico in 1856, going to Cuba and the United States, where he had directed various opera companies, finally settled in Buffalo, New York, where he had married. *El Pajaro Verde*, July 8, 1864; *La Sociedad*, June 30 and July 9, 1864; Beltrán, *op. cit.*, 115 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Reseña de las Festividades Nacionales de los Días 15 y 16 de Setiembre de 1864 en la Capital del Imperio* (México, 1864). There is no mention of the Himno Nacional having been played on either the first or second night, but it could have been played either before or after the performance of *La Traviata* directed by Nunó.



Himno Nacional of González Bocanegra and Nunó in Saitillo, in December of 1863.<sup>27</sup> Porfirio Díaz, who was to follow Juárez as president of Mexico not many years later and to continue in office almost continuously until 1910, was one of the republican defenders of the battle of Cinco de Mayo, 1862, and showed his veneration of the song in 1901, when Jaime Nunó was brought to Mexico again to direct the singing of it during the independence days celebrations of September 15 and 16.

Mexico had her national anthem which like our own "The Star Spangled Banner" was an expression of the mother country as well as the new land. It came from a fusion of the two nations. In this respect the Mexican musicologist, Miguel Galindo, speaking of the Mexican anthem, said that the song in its duality of sentiment and structure is the synthesis of Mexico's history—racial, artistic, political and religious. "If in its chorus and verse is expressed respectively the heroic and melancholy feeling of the races which gave us origin, its duality of structure recalls the origin of our popular mestizo songs, of binary songs like its Andalusian mother and its grandfather the Moorish zézel."<sup>28</sup>

Our political history with its fluctuations of strife and peace is expressed there also—the chorus is warlike; distant flourishes of trumpets are heard confusedly in its chords and its basses indicate the marching of the attacking infantrymen crossing the plains, while the stanzas are peaceful with the tenderness and mildness of the home and the indolence of people in times of peace. It is our political history, low and sonorous. The artist could not have been more successful; he reflected the ambient air that he breathed and caught it without losing the technique—not even changing the key. Both the chorus and the stanza are in E flat; in the first it is warlike and heroic; and in the stanza, melancholy, soft, tender, and passionate. Posterity has justified the decision of the jury that gave Nunó's composition first place, and it should be remembered that political hatreds and the unfortunate eventualities

<sup>27</sup> Beltrán, *op. cit.*, 70–71.

<sup>28</sup> Miguel Galindo, *Nociones de Historia de la Música Mexicana* (Colima, 1933) I, pp. 608–609. He explains on page 186 that the Moorish zézel was a group song with the burden of the song for the chorus and the stanza for the soloist introduced into Andalusia by a blind musician Mocádem ben Moafa in the 9th century, who began to sing in the Castilian language and in popular meter national tunes and new songs.

of history have not been able to overthrow our patriotic song, in spite of the fact that the tragic figure of Santa Anna takes his precipitate flight with hurricane gusts, carrying with him no small number of maledictions. The anthem responded completely to the aspirations, the hopes, and the affections of the mestizo heart; Nunó was able, in the limits of three musical phrases, to embrace our past, our present, and our future.<sup>29</sup>

His lemma was another good choice: the Mexican people are profoundly religious like their Indian and Spanish forefathers, and like them lovers of independence; and there is no more synthetical and exact expression of the Mexican soul than the three words: "God and Liberty!"

<sup>29</sup> Galindo, *op. cit.*, p. 609.

# Bella French Swisher and The American Sketch Book

LLERENA FRIEND

AMONG THE ITEMS acquired by the University of Texas Library in the Vandale Collection are the first three volumes of the *American Sketch Book*. As a result, the library is one of the few institutions in the country which has all seven volumes of the magazine.

Volumes I and II were published at LaCrosse, Wisconsin, in 1874-1875 and were described as "A Collection of Historical Incidents with Descriptions of Corresponding Localities." Volume III, published at Green Bay, Wisconsin, bore the same description but was devoted entirely to Brown County, Wisconsin.

Bella French began her combined role of editor and *littérateur* in 1867, when she worked for Marcus Mills Pomeroy as literary editor of the LaCrosse (Wisconsin) *Democrat*. In 1868 she established the *Western Progress*, a newspaper at Brownsville, Minnesota; then she spent a year on the editorial staff of the St. Paul *Pioneer*. From April, 1872, to April, 1873, Mrs. French edited a periodical called *The Busy West* at St. Paul. The magazine included stories, verse, recipes, and household hints to cater to a feminine audience; but it also had departments on art, science, agriculture, and history and articles and stories with a strong regional background.

Undaunted by the financial failure and one-year existence of this first publication of its kind in the Middle West, Mrs. French returned to Wisconsin and established her *American Sketch Book*. The advertising supplement to Volume III carried comments on the editor's novel, *Struggling Up to the Light: the Story of a Woman's Life*, printed in Chicago by W. B. Keen, Cooke, and Company in 1876. The novel, with its pronounced autobiographical flavor, received favorable notices in the Brownsville (Texas) *Sentinel* and

the San Marcos *West Texas Press*. The next year its author moved her *Sketch Book* to Austin, Texas, and proceeded with the publication of its fourth volume.

The editorial in the first number of Volume IV defined the mission of the magazine, which was "the best possible medium by which people at a distance may become acquainted with this large and growing State, as well as one which will preserve to the State those historical incidents which increase in value, as time bears them farther on from us." The publisher seemed to have caught Texas spirit in extremely short order, for she proclaimed: "Texas is so great and rich, so varied in soil, production and climate, and what few disadvantages she has, are so easy to overcome, that she does not need any falsifying to bring her into notice."

Volumes I and II contained "glimpses" of Chippewa Falls and Neilsville and sketches of Menomonie, Sparta, Reedsburg, and Baraboo, Wisconsin. Transplanted to the Southwest, the publication in its first Texas issue carried "A Historical Sketch of Austin, Texas." The editor also contributed a poem about Austin and a song, "Mount Bonnell." A section labeled "Worth Remembering" included recipes, one being Mrs. J. R. Blocker's recipe for charlotte russe. The second number of the magazine had as its lead article "Austin—Past, Present, and Future" by Mrs. Blocker's uncle, John M. Swisher, veteran of the Battle of San Jacinto and prominent citizen of Austin. The fourth number of Volume IV copied from the Austin *Democratic Statesman* for October 9, 1878, a news story on "Marriage in High Life," describing the wedding of Colonel J. M. Swisher and Mrs. Bella French. The article stressed their compatibility:

Mrs. French is not more devoted to books than Col. Swisher. Beyond doubt, with probably one exception, he is more thoroughly versed in English classical poetry than any citizen in the capital, and his bride has written, as we have all known, very admirable poetical effusions.

Mrs. Swisher offered as her apology for "taking a male partner" that she found it impossible to run the *Sketch Book* "without the assistance of an old settler who would set us right about names, dates, etc. when giving historical sketches in the work."

With the aid of her husband and such editorial assistants as Miss Kate Efnor, Miss Laura Jack Irvine, and Mrs. Maggie Abercrombie,

the historical sketches of thirty-eight counties and six towns in Texas continued to appear for the life of the magazine. The first number of Volume V carried the notice that Mrs. Swisher was operating a Book Job Printing Office in connection with the *Sketch Book* and had in the press Colonel Swisher's *Remembrances of Texas and Texas People*. The cloth bound edition would sell for one dollar.

Mrs. Swisher, in 1880, regretted that the magazine was late because of troubles in keeping a printer. For a time she had to close her print shop, but had a new business project at the Swisher place, "only four blocks from the main business of the city," by 1881, when she opened her Thermo Water Cure Establishment or Hot Air Bath and Hygenic Institute. The *Sketch Book* advertised that its editor had spent a winter at one such "Cure" and had visited others and so was competent to superintend the baths for sufferers from rheumatism, neuralgia, paralysis, and kindred diseases. A regular physician would be in attendance.

Volume VII editorials indicate difficulties with printing and binding and problems with employees. The editor had been travelling over Texas to secure subscriptions and had attended the annual meeting of the Texas Press Association. Late in 1881 she gave notice in the magazine that she planned a two-month lecture tour and would accept invitations to appear. To advertise, she ran "Opinions of the Press" with comments on Mrs. Swisher as a journalist, an author, and a lecturer. Lecture subjects used in Wisconsin had included: "Who Is to Blame?" "Progress," and "Life-Wrecks and Beacon Lights." She spoke at Waco and Georgetown on "Temperance," and in San Antonio on "Crime Viewed from a Scientific Standpoint." The last was her topic for an Austin audience when she spoke in the hall of the House of Representatives.

The last number of the *Sketch Book* stated that new subscribers in 1883 would be entitled to a business mention in the magazine. It announced that applications would be taken for the position of editorial assistant and that agents for the magazine (in future it was to be a quarterly) were needed in all parts of the United States. The quarterly never did appear.

Mrs. Swisher continued to travel; she was present with her husband at all the meetings of the Texas Veterans' Association and usually contributed a long patriotic poem inspired by the occasion.

She continued also to write, and her book *Rocks and Shoals*, published in New York by G. W. Dillingham, was reviewed by former Governor Richard B. Hubbard in her *Florecita*, published by John B. Alden in New York in 1889 and dedicated to Colonel Swisher. *Florecita* and a second story in verse, *The Sin of Edith Dean*, brought out by Alden in 1890, fulfilled a prediction at the time of her wedding that her poetical effusions would be produced in book form.

Colonel Swisher died in Austin in 1891. Bella French Swisher died in Sausalito, California, in 1893. She was neither as prolific in output nor as successful financially as her contemporary in the feminine editorial and writing field, Mrs. Frank Leslie; but she had ability and versatility and determination. From the Texas standpoint, her achievement was not in the field of literature but of local history.

# Gandhiana at TxU

GEORGE HENDRICK

THE FILES of *Indian Opinion* from 1903 through 1914, the years which M. K. Gandhi served as publisher, have been acquired on microfilm by the Library of the University of Texas. *Indian Opinion*, published first in Durban, South Africa, but later moved to the colony at Phoenix, Natal, South Africa, in 1904, is particularly important because it was during Gandhi's residence in South Africa from 1893 to 1914 that he developed his method of non-violent resistance to government which he called *Satyagraha*.

Despite the great amount of source material in the ten thousand pages of this eleven-year run of the newspaper, it has not been consulted by students and biographers of Gandhi. The best known American studies, Louis Fischer's *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* and Vincent Sheean's *Lead, Kindly Light*, depend upon Gandhi's *Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* and *Satyagraha in South Africa* for information about the South African years. The eight volume Indian biography by D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma: The Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, a beautiful set published by The Times of India from 1951 to 1954, bound in handloom cloth and with hundreds of illustrations, also slights Gandhi's South African career which was, as Gandhi was to realize, his formative period.

Gandhi attempted to describe these years in his *Autobiography*, and in much more detail in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, but both of these volumes were written in jail; Gandhi explained in the "Foreword" to *Satyagraha in South Africa* that the "original chapters were all written by me from memory. They were written partly in the Yeravda jail and partly outside after my premature release. As the translator knew of this fact, he made a diligent study of *Indian Opinion* and whenever he discovered slips of memory, he has not hesitated to make the necessary corrections."<sup>1</sup> But many incidents

<sup>1</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (Triplicane Madras: S. Ganesan, 1928), n. p.



were not described in detail by Gandhi and have never been exhumed from the files of *Indian Opinion*.<sup>2</sup>

Gandhi had gone to South Africa in 1893, two years after he had received his law degree from the Inner Temple in London, as a corporation lawyer. He found that Indians in South Africa were discriminated against because of racial prejudice, and indentured laborers were being forced into virtual slavery by the Europeans. *Indian Opinion*, in its first issue of June 4, 1903, announced that the "policy of the paper would be to advocate the cause of the British Indians in this sub-continent. But while it would insist upon the rights of the community, it would not be slow to point out its responsibilities."<sup>3</sup>

The paper was published in four languages—Gujarati, Tamil, Hindi, and English—until February 3, 1906, when the Tamil and Hindi sections were discontinued because of difficulties in employing competent type setters. Although the finances of the paper were precarious and Gandhi often contributed £75 a month to meet expenses, advertising was discontinued in 1912.

H. S. L. Polak, English editor of the paper, has noted that Gandhi's "model of objective writing was the *London Times*."<sup>4</sup> Gandhi described his editorial work:

During ten years, that is, until 1914, excepting the intervals of my enforced rest in prison, there was hardly an issue of *Indian Opinion* without an article from me. I cannot [*sic*] recall a word in those articles set down without thought or deliberation, or a word of conscious exaggeration, or anything merely to please. Indeed the journal became for me a training in self-restraint, and for friends a medium through which to keep in touch with my thoughts. The critic found very little to which he could object. In fact the tone of *Indian Opinion* compelled the critic to put a curb on his own pen. Satyagraha would probably have been impossible without *Indian Opinion*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I am now editing, for publication by Navajivan Publishing House, the Gandhi material in *Indian Opinion*.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Opinion*, June 4, 1903, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> H. S. L. Polak, H. N. Brailsford, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, *Mahatma Gandhi* (London: Odhams Press Limited, 1949), p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> M. K. Gandhi, *Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948, p. 348.

*Indian Opinion* published the complete texts of anti-Asian as well as pro-Indian speeches. Editorials from leading South African newspapers were reproduced; the grievances of the oppressed Indians were presented, but never in emotional or inflammatory terms.

The columns of *Indian Opinion* often contained extracts from the works of famous literary men, such as Thoreau, whom Gandhi admired greatly and whose influence upon the *Satyagraha* movement, although long known, could not be determined until the files of *Indian Opinion* became available. Gandhi wrote Henry S. Salt in 1929 that he had read Thoreau "in the thick of the passive resistance struggle." A friend sent him the essay, "Civil Disobedience," which "left a deep impression" upon him. "I translated a portion for the readers of *Indian Opinion* in South Africa which I was then editing," Gandhi remembered, "and I made copious extracts for the English part of that paper."<sup>6</sup> The selections from "Civil Disobedience" which Gandhi printed had never been known, however, because of the unavailability of *Indian Opinion*.<sup>7</sup> Gandhi made the extracts from "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" from Arthur C. Fifield's "Simple Life" edition of the essay. Gandhi published the extracts only a few months before he was first sentenced to jail for passive resistance, and in a headnote he characterized Thoreau:

David Thoreau was a great writer, philosopher, poet, and withal a most practical man, that is, he taught nothing he was not prepared to practice in himself. He was one of the greatest and most moral men America has produced. At the time of the abolition of slavery movement he wrote his famous essay 'On the Duty of Civil Disobedience.' He went to gaol for the sake of his principles and suffering humanity. His Essay has, therefore, been sanctified by suffering. Moreover, it is written for all time. Its incisive logic is unanswerable. During the last week of October—a month of sore temptation to Asiatic passive resisters, whose silent suffering has now reached the whole civilized world, we present the following extracts.<sup>7a</sup>

The influence of Tolstoy and Ruskin upon the Phoenix settlement

<sup>6</sup> Henry Salt, "Gandhi and Thoreau," *The Nation and Athenaeum*, XLVI (March 1, 1930), 728.

<sup>7</sup> I shall soon publish, in an article on Thoreau's influence on Gandhi, a transcription of these extracts.

<sup>7a</sup> *Indian Opinion*, October 26, 1907, p. 438.

and Gandhi's Tolstoy Farm, well-known but largely undocumented, can also be traced in *Indian Opinion*.

The idealistic aims of Gandhi and his followers are amply demonstrated by the goals of the Phoenix settlers who published *Indian Opinion*:

- (1) So far as possible to order their lives so as to be able ultimately to earn their living by handicraft or agriculture carried on without the aid so far as possible of machinery;
- (2) To work publicly so as to promote a better understanding between the Europeans and British Indians established in South Africa, and to voice and work to remove the grievances of the latter;
- (3) To follow and promote the ideals set forth by Tolstoy and Ruskin in their lives and works;
- (4) To promote purity of private life in individuals by living pure lives themselves;
- (5) To establish a school for the education principally of Indian children through their own vernaculars;
- (6) To establish a sanatorium and hygienic institute, with a view to the prevention of disease by methods generally known as 'nature treatment';
- (7) To train themselves generally for the service of humanity;
- (8) To conduct the said INDIAN OPINION for the advancement of the ideals mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs.\*

The university library, in addition to the important files of *Indian Opinion*, has also been purchasing, largely from Indian sources, all the important biographical, political, and religious studies of Gandhi now in print. TxU now has almost a complete collection of Gandhi's own writings, including his *Autobiography*, *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, *Basic Education*, *Cent Per Cent Swadeshi*, *Communal Unity*, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, *Delhi Diary*, *Diet and Diet Reform*, *Food Shortage and Agriculture*, *For Pacifists*, *From Yeravda Mandir*, *Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government*, *The Gita According to Gandhi*, *Gleanings Gathered at Bapu's Feet*, *Hind Swaraj*, *Hindu Dharma*, *Key to Health*, *Non-violence in Peace and War*, *Ramanama*, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, *Satyagraha*, *Selected Letters*, *Selections from Gandhi*, *Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence*, *The Nation's Voice*, *To the Students*, *Women*

\* *Indian Opinion*, September 14, 1912, p. 311.

and Social Injustice, *Christian Missions: Their Place in India, Indian States' Problem*, and Gandhi's translation of Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, all published by Navajivan Publishing House of Ahmedabad, India. Also of special interest are a series of recollections, *Gandhiji As We Know Him* (1945), *Incidents of Gandhiji's Life* (1949), and *Reminiscences of Gandhiji* (1951), all edited by Chandrashanker Shukla and published by Vora and Company of Bombay. A similar valuable collection is the *Gandhi Memorial Peace Number* published by the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* in 1949; TxU is purchasing all back issues of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* now available (almost a complete run) for their valuable material on Gandhi and Tagore.

Among the works of biographical interest, of great importance are Mrs. Millie Graham Polak's *Mr. Gandhi: The Man*, published by George Allen in 1931 and containing trenchant observations by the wife of the English editor of *Indian Opinion*, and J. J. Doke's *Mr. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*. Doke, a Baptist minister in South Africa, was Gandhi's first biographer.

*Gandhiana* (*A Bibliography of Gandhian Literature*), compiled by P. G. Deshpande and published by Navajivan in 1948, lists 1400 volumes in English by and about Gandhi. TxU has attempted to purchase all the most significant items listed in this bibliography, and has largely succeeded, although still unacquired is the elusive third edition of *Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings and Speeches* published by G. A. Natesan in 1921. The Library has also been purchasing all possible items brought into print since the publication of *Gandhiana*.

## New Acquisitions

THIS SECTION reviews from time to time the important gifts and purchases received in the Library for the period between issues of the CHRONICLE. It is a selective list, and cannot always include every item which may be worthy of mention; but it is intended that it shall always be representative of significant kinds of acquisitions.

### RARE BOOK COLLECTIONS

#### I

Since the check-list of fifteenth-century books at TxU was compiled (Winter, 1954), several items have been added to the Rare Book Collections' incunabula. Perhaps the most important of these acquisitions is a group of five leaves from Caxton's translation of St. Jerome's *Vitae Patrum*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde about 1495. Two titles reflect the current research interest in early dictionaries and grammars at TxU. These are the *Lexicon Graeco-latinum* of Johannes Crastonus, printed in Venice in 1495 by Aldus Manutius; and the *De Orthographia* of Giovanni Tortelli, a fifteenth-century Italian grammarian, printed in Venice in 1488.

Other additions are: Aristotle. *De Animalibus*. Venice, 1476; Petrus de Monte. *Repertorium utriusque juris*. Padua, 1480; Eusebius Caesariensis. *Chronicon*. Venice, 1483; Franciscus Philelphus. *Orationes et Opuscula*. Brescia, 1488; Bartholomaeus Anglicus. *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Lyons, 1491/92; and Johannes Marchesinus. *Mammotrectus super Bibliam*. Venice, 1498.

#### II

Further recent acquisitions by Rare Book Collections are an interesting index to the nature and extent of research studies now in progress on the University of Texas Campus. A doctoral dissertation on Wilfred Owen, for instance, has inspired the purchase of

upward of one hundred first editions of poetry growing out of World Wars I and II, and including, beside scores of little known and privately printed books of verse, such names as Laurence Binyon, Edmund Blunden, Rupert Brooke, Alex Comfort, E. De Stein, Austin Dobson, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, John Middleton Murry, and Alfred Noyes; Siegfried Sassoon outnumbers all others with fifteen volumes and considerable manuscript. In this group, too, should be noted twenty-three pieces—autograph letters, manuscript, and books—by and about James Elroy Flecker.

Seven minor Kipling items of recent acquisition help to round out a collection, which, thanks to the basic gifts of Mr. DeGolyer, of Dallas, and Mrs. Lewis and her son, of Fort Worth, and the three-year's work of another doctoral candidate, is as nearly definitive as a Kipling collection can be made at this time. A third graduate student, in preparation for a study of Willa Cather, has added about thirty-five first editions and variants of her works, and he continues to read catalogues and correspond with dealers. Still another young man has done outstanding work in gathering material for the study of D. H. Lawrence.

Within the past decade Rare Book Collections has gathered a group of sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century dictionaries unequalled in this country. The period covered by this report has added more than a dozen volumes ranging in dates from 1497 to 1794.

Surprisingly enough, in view of the upsurge of graduate studies in Victorian-and-After literature, the heaviest increase in Rare Books has been in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Notable among those to be classified as science are three by Paracelsus, the great German alchemist, physician, and writer, whose name Browning made famous in English poetry:

Modus Pharmacani. 1562.

Von de Bergsucht oder Berg Kranckheiten, drey Buecher . . . 1567.

Von den Kranckheyten . . . 1567.

Rare Book Collections have long treasured the first Latin edition (1497) and the first English edition (1509) of Sebastian Brant's *Navis Stultifera*, a best seller throughout Europe for more than two hundred years—first printed in Low German, in 1494, and later

translated into most of the vernaculars of Europe, to be printed many times. Recently these two have been joined by a third, printed in Basle, Switzerland, in 1507.

The past year has brought us through purchase and gift more than seventy-five desirable bibliographies, catalogues, and books about books, including a handsome array of eighteenth and early nineteenth century auction and sale catalogues of famous libraries. The following are a few suggestive titles from this group:

The general contents of the British Museum . . . 1762.

Walpole, Horace. The press at Strawberry-Hill to Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry, 1788.

Parr, Samuel. Bibliotheca Parriana . . . 1827.

Stevens, Henry. The Bibles in the Caxton exhibition . . . 1878.

Willems. Les Elzevier, historie et annales typographiques. 1880.

Catalogue des Incunables de la Bibliotheque Mazarine. 1893.

Cambridge University. Catalog of Persian manuscripts. 1896.

———. Handlist of Muhammadan manuscripts. 1900.

———. Western manuscripts in the Trinity college library. 1900-04.

Catalogue raisonné des impressions elzeviriennes de la bibliothèque royale de Stockholm . . . 1911.

Manoscritti Incunabili e libri figurati del Secolo XVI . . . 1930.

Illuminated MSS. incunabula and Americana from . . . libraries of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian. 1932.

Catalogue of the Medieval MSS. in the University Library, Aberdeen. 1932.

The Harold Whitaker collection in atlases, road-books . . . Leeds Univ. 1947.

Guthrie, Douglas. Some early herbals and pharmacopoeias. 1950.

Madan, Francis. A new bibliography of the Eikon Basilike of Charles I. 1950.

Robertson, Walford Graham. The Blake collection of W. G. Robertson. 1952.

Keynes, Geoffrey Langdon. William Blake's illuminated books. 1953.

The following is a short suggestive list of other volumes added to the Rare Book shelves within the past two years:



#### SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- Nifo, Agostino. *Physicarum Acroasuz hoc est Naturaliuz Auscultationum liber interprete . . .* 1502.
- Apuleius Madurensis. *Apuleius Asinus Aureus cum commentariis Philippi Beroaldi.* 1504.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Genealogiae Deorum.* 1511.
- Horatius Flaccus, Quintus. *Opera.* 1511.
- Valla, Lorenzo. *Elegantiarum libri sex . . .* 1517.
- Diogenis, Laertius. *De uitis, decretis, and responsis celebrium philosophorum libri . . .* 1533.
- Glareanus, Henricus. *De Geographia liber unus ob ipso auctore . . .* 1533.
- Fitzherbert, Sir Anthony. *La novel natura brevium.* 1534.
- Rhegius, Urbanus. *The olde learnyng and the new compared together . . .* 1548.
- Grotius, Hugo. *Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis.* 1557.
- Mirandula, Octavionus. *Flores Poetarum Illustrium.* 1563.
- Lemnius, Levinus. *Occulta naturae miracula.* 1564.
- Junius, Harianus. *Nomenclator.* 1567.
- Buchanan, George. *Franciscanus et Fratres . . .* 1568.
- Turner, William. *The first and seconde partes of the Herbal . . .* 1568.
- La Biblia.* 1569.
- Ptolemaeus, Claudis. *Geographiae libri octo.* 1584.
- Boemus, Joannes. *I Costumi le leggi et L'usanze di tutte le Genti.* 1585.
- Manilius, Marcus. *Astronomican.* 1590.
- Pererius Valentinus, Benedictus. *Adversus fallaces et superstitiones artes.* 1591.
- Porta, Giovanni Battista della. *Della Fisonomia, libri quattro.* 1598.

#### SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- Boulenger, Jules Cesar. *De theatro, ludisque scenicis . . .* 1603.
- Estienne, Henri. *L'Introduction au traite de la conformite . . .* 1607.
- Horatius Flaccus, Quintus. *Poemata.* 1614.
- Estienne, Chas. & J. Liebault. *Maison rustique, or the country farm.* 1616.

- Lyly, John. *Euphues the anatomy of wit*. 1617.
- Heylyn, Peter. *Microcosmo* . . . 1621.
- Lerin y Garcia, Juan. *El Bien y el Mal de las Ciencias Humanas* . . . 1626.
- Velazquez de Azevedo, Juan. *El Fenix de Minerva y Arte de Memoria*. 1626.
- Smith, Thomas. *On England*. 1630.
- Franco Furt, Amoeodo. *El tribunal de la ivsta venganca* . . . 1635.
- Barclay, John. *Barclay his Argenis* . . . 1636.
- Prynne, William. *Mount-Orgueil* . . . 1641.
- . *History of King John, King Henry III and . . . King Edward I*. 1668.
- Hume, David. *The history of the houses of Douglas and Angus*. 1648.
- L'Estoile, Claude de. *L'Intrigue des filous, comedie*. 1650.
- Pharmacopoeia Londinensis Collegarum Hodie viventium studies* . . . 1650.
- Jobert, F. Balde, *Reine de Sarmates, tragedie*. 1651.
- Westminster assembly of divines. *The confession of faith*. 1658.
- Dugdale, William. *The history of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*. 1658.
- Baker, Richard. *Chronicle of the Kings of England* . . . 1665.
- Ashmole, Elias. *The institution, laws and ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter*. 1672.
- Machiavelli, Nicolo. *Discourses upon the first decade of T. Livius*. 1674.
- Willoughby, Francis. *The ornithology of F. Willoughby* . . . 1678.
- Obsequens, Julius. *De Prodigiiis*. 1679.
- Weise, Christian. *Trauer-Spiel von dem Haupt-Rebellen Masaniello*. 1683.
- Le Vert. *Le docteur amoureux, comédie*. 1688.
- Cowley, Abraham. *Six books of plants*. 1689.
- Dance of Death. Todten-Tanz*. 1696.
- Davenant, Charles. *Discourses on the publick revenues* . . . 1698.
- EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
- Pitt, Robert. *The craft and frauds of physick expos'd*. 1702.
- The Swan Tripe Club in Dublin*. 1706.

- Prior, Matthew. Poems on several occasions. 1707.  
 ———. A memorial. 1715.  
 Sanchez, Francisco. Minerva, seu de Causis . . . 1714.  
 Whiston, William. Astronomical principles of religion. 1717.  
 Locke, John. A collection of several pieces of Mr. John Locke . . .  
 1720.  
 Voltaire, Francois. Essay upon the Civil Wars of France . . . 1728.  
 Budgell, Eustace. A letter to His Excellency Mr. Ulrick D'Yves  
 . . . 1731.  
 Coffey, Charles. The Boarding-school. 1733.  
 Mitford, William. Inquiry into the principles of harmony in lan-  
 guage. 1744.  
 Robertson, Alexander. Poems on various subjects . . . 1750.  
 Burlamaqui, Jean. Principes du Droit Politique. 1751.  
 Mallet, David. Memoirs of . . . Bolingbroke. 1752.  
 Hume, David. Admonition from the dead. 1754.  
 ———. Histoire de la maison des Stuart. 1763.  
 ———. Essays and treatises on several subjects. 1777.  
 Aesopus. Aesopi Favulae. Graeco-Latinae . . . 1755.  
 Bunyan, John. The Holy War made by Shaddai upon Diabo.  
 1759.  
 Hurd, Richard. Moral and political dialogues. 1760.  
 ———. Dialogues on the uses of foreign travel. 1764.  
 Brisson, Mathurin J. Ornithologie . . . 1760.  
 Brown, John. Thoughts on civile liberty . . . 1765.  
 Douglas, Sir Robert. Peerage of Scotland. 1768.  
 Gilpin, William. An essay upon prints. 1768.  
 Dunkin, William. Poetical works. 1774.  
 Johnstone, Charles. The history Arsaces . . . 1774.  
 Priestley, Joseph. Experiments and observations on different kinds  
 of air. 1775.  
 ———, Experiments and observations relating to various  
 branches of natural philosophy . . . 1779.  
 Horas Marianas . . . 1777.  
 Aikin, John. An essay on the application of natural history to  
 poetry. 1777.  
 Sharp, Granville. A tract on the law of nature . . . 1777.  
 Le Clerc, Jean. Ars Critica . . . 1778.

- Robertson, Joseph. *An essay on punctuation*. 1785.  
 Colman, George. *Prose on several occasions*. 1787.  
 Lacepede, Bernard Germain. *Historie naturelle des quadrupedes ovipares et des serpens*. 1788.  
 Graves, Richard. *Recollections of . . . William Shenstone*. 1788.  
 Carlisle, Isabella. *Thought in the form of maxims addressed to young ladies . . .* 1789.  
 Smellie, William. *Philosophy of natural history*. 1790.  
 Buchan, William. *Domestic medicine . . .* 1792.  
 Godwin, William. *The enquirer*. 1797.

#### NINETEENTH CENTURY

- Walker, George. *The three Spaniards*. 1800.  
 Scot, Elizabeth. *Alonzo and Cora . . .* 1801.  
 Repton, Humphrey. *Observations on the theory and practice of landscape gardening*. 1803.  
 Godwin, William. *Outlines of English history*. 1810.  
 Byron, Lord George. *La Sposa D'Abydos Novella turca di Lord Byron . . .* 1813.  
 M'Donough, Felix. *The hermit in London*. 1819.  
 Jouy, Etienne. *The hermit in Prison*. 1823.  
 Hazlitt, William. *A reply to Z*. 1825.  
 Meyrick, Samuel Rush. *Specimens of ancient furniture*. 1836.  
 Browning, Robert and Kate Greenaway. *The Pied Piper*. 1888.  
 Taylor, Jane. *Sundry rhymes from the days of our grandmothers*. 1888.  
*The National Shakespeare*. 1888.

#### TWENTIETH CENTURY

- Hardy, Thomas. *A changed man*. 1913.  
 Frost, Robert. *Collected poems of Robert Frost*. 1930.  
 Robinson, Edwin Arlington. *Matthias at the door*. 1931.  
 ———. *Nicodemus*. 1932.  
 Fisher, Dorothea. *Seasoned timber*. 1939.

#### AMERICANA

- Penn, William. *The Christian-Quaker and his divine testimony . . .* 1674.  
 Ellis, Henry. *A voyage to Hudson's Bay*. 1748.  
 Franklin, Benjamin. *An historical review of the Constitution and government of Pennsylvania . . .* 1759.

- . The complete works in philosophy, politics, and morals of . . . 1807.
- Holmes, Abiel. A family tablet. 1796.
- Morse, Jedidiah. The American (Gazetteer). 1798.
- Weems, Mason Locke. The life of George Washington . . . 1800.
- Dow, Lorenzo. The life and travels. 1804.
- Bowen, Abel. The Naval Monument . . . 1830.
- Rules of discipline of the yearly meeting of Friends, . . . 1831.
- Judge, Hugh. Memoirs and journal of Hugh Judge; . . . 1841.
- Felton, Mrs. American life. 1843.
- Cushing, Luther. Rules of proceeding and debate in deliberative assemblies. 1845.
- Thayer, William. Pastor's wedding gift. 1854.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. English traits. 1856.
- Alcott, Louisa May. Three Proverb stories. 1868.
- Whitman, Walt. As a strong bird on pinions free . . . 1872.
- Harte, Bret. Wan Lee, the pagan, . . . 1876.
- Clemens, Samuel. Pudd'nhead Wilson. 1894.
- . Tom Sawyer Abroad. 1894.
- . More tramps abroad. 1897.
- . Death disk. 1913.
- Whittier, John Greenleaf. Catalogue of manuscripts, books and autographs. 1903.
- Kilmer, Joyce. Summer of love. 1911.
- Tarkington, Booth. The spring concert. 1916.
- Anderson Galleries. Association books from the library of J. G. Whittier . . . to be sold . . . 1920.
- Weddell, Alexander W. Memorial volume of Virginia historical portraiture. 1930.
- The Colonial scene. 1950.

## GENERAL

Current publication in Australia and New Zealand lays considerable stress on both historical and contemporary literature. Such firms as Angus & Robertson or Whitcombe & Tombs, with connections in England as well as in Australasia, are doing much to interpret the outlying dominions to the land still referred to as "home" at the same time that they offer local authors at least a limited outlet. To the Australian or New Zealand writer, in an area populated by only about ten million persons, current problems are much like those faced by American writers a hundred years ago when the reading public was small and when British authors were freely reprinted (usually pirated) in truly cut-throat competition. Criticism in the Antipodes points constantly to such difficulties, and there has even been an effort to alleviate it by subsidy through small State Literary Funds to assist publishers in undertaking ventures which otherwise would be economically unfeasible. But despite the obstacles, it is felt (and the quality as well as the amount of publication will bear out this impression) that there is coming into being—as a recent writer in *American Quarterly* puts it—"a new literature of the South Pacific."

Among recent arrivals are a number of books by Douglas Stewart, literary editor of the *Sydney Bulletin*, and by Will Lawson, who has written and collected Australasian bush-songs. The early history of New Zealand is reflected in such volumes as *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden* (an early missionary), Eccles and Reed's *John Jones of Otago* (an early entrepreneur), Charlotte Godley's *Letters from Early New Zealand*, and H. F. von Haast's *Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*. Von Haast, an intimate friend of Samuel Butler during Butler's sheep-farming days in the 1860's, was a pioneer geologist and topographer of great ability and influence. Another book devoted largely to the past is Airini Elizabeth Woodhouse's *New Zealand Farm and Station Verse, 1850-1950*. Contemporary poets appear in several volumes of the *Caxton Poets* (issued by a small firm in Christchurch), and there are individual volumes by locally well-known figures such as J. K. Baxter (represented also by a critical work, *Recent Trends in New Zealand Poetry*), Ursula Bethell, A. R. D. Fairburn, Denis Glover, and Alan Mulgan.

*Brown Man's Burden*, by Rod Finlayson, is a collection of Maori stories; Frank Sargeson, generally thought to be the best writer of short fiction in New Zealand today, is the author of *When the Wind Blows*. Still another type of interpretation is offered by John Pascoe, mountaineer and photographer, in *Unclimbed New Zealand, Land Uplifted High*, and *The Mountains, the Bush, and the Sea*. Pascoe's camera work is outstanding among numerous efforts in a singularly photogenic country. Books on language include Arnold Wall's *New Zealand English* and James Cowan's *Maori Place Names of the Thermal Regions*.





